

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----048681 041042Z /21

O R 040936Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7029  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM  
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 4825

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, IS, US, XF  
SUBJECT: SENATOR JAVITS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN

BEGIN SUMMARY; SENATOR JAVITS TOLD DAYAN HE WAS CONCERNED  
THAT BEGIN'S RECENT ASSERTIONS HAVE NOT DONE ISRAEL ANY  
GOOD AND SUGGESTED THAT ATTENTION BE PAID TO THE OPINION  
OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. IF BEGIN PERSISTS  
IN HIS STATEMENTS AND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS THERE COULD  
BE SOME EROSION OF SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG  
CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. DAYAN REPLIED  
THAT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ISRAEL TO ACCEPT WHAT THE  
PRESIDENT HAS SAID BECAUSE IT APPEARS HE HAS AUTHORIZED  
A PLAN WHICH WOULD BE A TRAGEDY FOR ISRAEL. IT IS A PITY  
THAT ISRAEL MUST NOW NEGOTIATE WITH THE U.S. RATHER  
THAN WITH THE ARABS. DAYAN SAID NOW IS THE TIME  
TO PRESS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND ISRAEL WILL BE  
GUIDED BY FOUR POINTS: THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED  
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TO ALL AGREEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY PREVIOUS ISRAELI  
GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING 242; THE GOVERNMENT IS  
SEEKING NO DELAY BUT IS READY TO GO TO GENEVA  
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE; ISRAEL WANTS A COMPREHENSIVE  
PEACE NEGOTIATION BUT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT INTERIM  
OR SEPARATE AGREEMENTS IF FULL PEACE IS UNATTAINABLE  
NOW; AND EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE WITHOUT PRIOR

CONDITION REGARDING WHAT CAN BE DISCUSSED AND WHAT  
THE OUTCOME MAY BE. END SUMMARY

1. SENATOR JAVITS MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN  
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 3, IN JERUSALEM. THE  
SENATOR NOTED THE BACKGROUND FOR HIS RECENT SPEECH  
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEN PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ON  
BEGIN'S VISIT. HE SAID BEGIN'S RECENT ASSERTIONS  
HAVE NOT DONE ISRAEL ANY GOOD AND HAVE CAUSED  
CONCERN IN THE CONGRESS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WOULD  
PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE NOW TO GET AS MANY AS 76  
SENATORS AGAIN TO SIGN A LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL  
AND HE ESTIMATED IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT EVEN TO GET  
TWO-THIRDS OF THE SENATE. ISRAEL'S SUPPORTERS ARE  
WORRIED BECAUSE THEY FEEL ISRAEL IS BEING TOO  
TOUGH. ISRAEL MAY BE RIGHT BUT THE TONE OF RECENT  
REMARKS NEEDS TO BE ADJUSTED AND ATTENTION PAID TO  
THE OPINION OF THE PRESIDENT AND OF CONGRESSIONAL  
LEADERS WHO WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS THIS YEAR. WHEN  
BEGIN VISITS WASHINGTON, HE MUST REMEMBER THIS MAY  
BE HIS ONLY CHANCE; HIS VISIT SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED  
AS A PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

2. THERE IS A BODY OF CONGRESSIONAL OPINION WHICH  
BELIEVES IT IS TIME TO STRIKE A BARGAIN. IF BEGIN  
PERSISTS IN HIS STATEMENTS, THERE WILL BE SOME  
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EROSION IN CONGRESS. THE AMERICAN JEWISH  
COMMUNITY REMAINS DEVOTED TO ISRAEL BUT ELEMENTS  
OF ITS SUPPORT WILL BE SHAKEN IF THERE IS A  
CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PRESIDENT.  
SENATOR JAVITS SAID HE HOPED BEGIN WOULD NOT  
MAKE HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ONE WHICH  
ENDS ALL DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL.  
HE SAID HE BELIEVED THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE  
BEGIN AND BEGIN WOULD FIND THE PRESIDENT  
SYMPATHETIC.

3. DAYAN REPLIED THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT A  
CONFRONTATION AND AN EROSION OF SUPPORT, BUT  
ASKED WHETHER ISRAEL MUST ACCEPT ALL THE  
PRESIDENT SAYS. IF THE ELEMENTS OF THE MONDALE  
SPEECH (RETURN TO 67 BOUNDARIES, PALESTINE STATE,  
SECURITY BORDERS) ARE THE OUTLINES OF AN AMERICAN  
PLAN, THIS WOULD BE A TRAGEDY FOR ISRAEL. THE  
PRESIDENT CANNOT SAY TO ISRAEL THIS IS THE  
SITUATION WITHOUT FIRST HEARING FROM ISRAEL;  
NO ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT THIS. ISRAELIS  
WOKE UP ONE MORNING LAST WEEK AND HEARD THE

OTUCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; THE ARABS NO LONGER  
HAVE TO SIT DOWN WITH THE ISRAELIS. IF ISRAEL  
MUST RISK LOSING AMERICAN SUPPORT BY NOT AGREEING  
TO THIS OUTLINE, SO BE IT; IT IS BETTER TO LOSE  
SUPPORT THAN TO LOSE THE COUNTRY. WASHINGTON  
HAS MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT BOUNDARIES, THE NATURE  
OF PEACE, AND THE PALESTINIANS BEFORE ONE WORD  
HAS BEEN EXCHANGED WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.  
THE U.S. HAS STOPPED BEING A MEDIATING PARTY  
AND HAS BECOME A PARTY TELLING ISRAEL WHERE TO  
SIGN AN ALREADY NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

4. THE SENATOR RESPONDED THAT THE PRESIDENT DOES  
NOT FEEL HE HAS WRITTEN THE TICKET AND DAYAN'S  
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VIEWS AND REASONING WHY ISRAEL CANNOT  
ACCEPT THE OUTLINED PLAN WOULD BE VERY PERSUASIVE.  
HIS WORDS AND INDIGNATION AND SINCERITY WOULD BE  
IMPRESSIVE AND WOULD BE HEARD AS THE WORDS OF A  
FRIEND REASONING WITH A FRIEND. IT MUST BE  
REMEMBERED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. PUBLIC IS

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----048697 041052Z /21

O R 040936Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7030  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 4825

EXDIS

NOT IMPRESSED WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT CERTAIN TERRITORY WAS UNDER JEWISH SOVEREIGNTY FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

5. DAYAN REPLIED THAT BEGIN WILL CONDUCT THE DISCUSSION IN THE PROPER MANNER BUT REPEATED THAT IT IS A PITY THAT HE MUST NEGOTIATE WITH THE BROOKINGS PLAN AND WITH BRZEZINSKI AND NOT WITH THE ARABS. WE HAVE PRESENTED THE WRONG PLAN WITHOUT GOI APPROVAL. HE RECALLED THE SINAI WITHDRAWAL OF 1956 AND NOTED THAT AGAIN THERE IS NO WORD OF A CONCRETE GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL.

6. SENATOR JAVITS SAID HE WAS SURE THE PRESIDENT WOULD WANT TO HEAR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS AND TO DISCUSS WHAT ISRAEL FEELS IT MUST HAVE AND HOW THE U.S. CAN CONTRIBUTE. DAYAN SAID BEGIN WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE  
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POINTS. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT ISRAEL CANNOT DEPEND ON INDIVIDUAL ARAB LEADERS, WHO MAY DISAPPEAR AND BE REPLACED BY OTHERS; THEREFORE, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO KNOW, WHEN DISCUSSING LINES, WHETHER THOSE LINES ARE TO BE SECURED BY AMERICAN MARINES, YUGOSLAV U.N. FORCES, OR EGYPTIAN PROMISES.

7. THE SENATOR AGREED THAT ISRAELI SECURITY IS A VERY COMPELLING FACTOR AND MUST BE RELATED TO U.S. INTERESTS WHENEVER THE TWO ARE PARALLEL. HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT MUCH IS AT STAKE AND THE PRESSURES OF TIME MEAN THERE CAN BE NO PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION. DAYAN AGREED THAT "IT IS CLOSE TO TWELVE O'CLOCK" AND SAID THERE ARE FOUR IMPORTANT POINTS:

--A) THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO ALL AGREEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY FORMER GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING 242;

--B) THE GOVERNMENT WANTS NO DELAY AND WISHES TO GO TO GENEVA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE;

--C) ISRAEL WANTS A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, ALTHOUGH IT IS WILLING TO CONSIDER INTERIM OR SEPARATE AGREEMENTS IF NECESSARY--IT IS NOT SAYING "ALL OR NOTHING," HOWEVER; AND

--D) THERE IS NO AREA WHICH IS NON-NEGOTIABLE--  
EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE WITHOUT PRIOR  
CONDITIONS AS TO AREA OR OUTCOME--ISRAEL IS PREPARED  
TO GO HONESTLY AND OPENLY TO GENEVA AND SEE WHAT CAN  
BE DONE. ISRAEL IS READY FOR ANY OUTCOME WHICH  
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IS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PARTIES AND ANY ALLEGATION TO  
THE CONTRARY IS NOT CORRECT.

8. THE SENATOR THEN ASKED DAYAN IF HE FELT JORDAN,  
EGYPT AND SYRIA WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE. THE  
MINISTER SAID HE HAD BEEN FACING THIS PROBLEM FOR  
30 YEARS AND THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A BETTER TIME. THE  
TIME HAS NEVER BEEN MORE RIPE THAN NOW. HE  
EMPHASIZED THIS WAS HIS VIEW AND SUGGESTED THE  
QUESTION BE PUT TO BEGIN.

8. COMMENT: WHILE DAYAN WAS FIRM AND UNRELENTING  
IN HIS VIEWS, HE WAS PERSUASIVE AND EFFECTIVE.  
IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER HIS VIEWS ARE  
SHARED BY HIS PRIME MINISTER. TOMORROW'S  
MEETING WITH BEGIN MAY PROVIDE AN ANSWER.  
END COMMENT

9. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN CLEARED BY CODEL.  
LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PGOV, OREP, US, XF, IS, (JAVITS, JACOB K), (DAYAN, MOSHE)  
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